/3 cont./

133 The Indian makes full use of the valleys, laying out his
132 field with its own fence; his cow also grazes there, with her
• 311 calf running and playing across the level ground, and the wild animals live everywhere there, the dauntless foxes, the inoffensive anteaters, and the timid little deer /corzuelas/, while the monkeys seek the woods and the brambly, craggy ground of the hills to entertain themselves in raucous clamor, and the condors love to soar through the air to an extraordinary height, even considering that they launch themselves from the peaks of the highest hills.

133 While the ridges run from north to south, the course of the rivers is quite capricious: they run to the north, regress southward, direct themselves eastward, advance intrepidly westward, but the dominant course of them all as far as the pampas of the Gran Chaco is from west to east, overcoming every difficulty set in their way by the ridges, from which they leap with an extraordinary din, such as at the "Pirapo" (cataract of the fishes) or the waterfalls of the Pilcomayo and Parapiti rivers.

In the land of the Chiriguano, torrents and streams abound; more numerous are the rivulets which quickly lose their waters because within a few kilometers they run into endless sandy areas. If the hidden water should fail to appear occasionally in the ravines, which are small arroyos in origin, life here would be all but impossible, since places like Yvu, which without having a river or anything similar, possesses abundant and excel-
312 lent water, are numbered. The springs which appear in the beds
[157] of the torrents are of the greatest benefit in those places where there are no lakes or ponds, for the Indian, because of his laziness, is not capable of building artificial lakes for his water
[484] supply. In Itatiqui, for instance, not long ago there was a group of some 150 Chiriguano families; they could have made a lake in order to have such a necessity, but neither did they do it nor will they on their own initiative, and they go five kilometers to get it or at least there is the Chiriguano woman with her jug waiting for the forming of the drops which exude from the western slope, from which comes the name "Itatiqui," the stone that drips.

/3 cont./

133 [135] [132] The lakes are natural, but not permanent; they are many and large; in some the water is very good, but from others not even the cattle /4/ drink, because it contains so much saltpeter. They all receive water from the sky, which sometimes falls with great force and fills them at a single time. White Christians are now making artificial lakes, especially in the Gran Chaco and in the vicinity of Caipipendi. 271 824 When water is completely lacking, the Indian scratches the ground, looking for the root of the "ajoy," samolo, which is as large as a watermelon; he cuts it at the top, squeezes the pulp with his hand, it turns to water, and he drinks; thus the need is met, but when this drink is taken for a long period, it gives rise to sickness.

• 311 312 433 132 The land lends itself to farming and to cattle raising, but both industries diminish in those years when the beneficial action of the rains is scarce. Then the crops are lost, and the cattle die from lack of food and from the great amounts of water that they drink from the rivers and lakes on whose banks they stay through lack of energy; nonetheless this rarely happens throughout the region, which, because of embracing a wide area, in one place or another receives showers which renew nature.

Extent and Area

131 [161] [464] The Chiriguano tribe or race was extremely numerous and thus once took in an extraordinarily large area; traces of these Indians are found in the vicinity of Tarija, and they may be found beyond Santa Cruz, where even today Chiriguano men and women are in larger part those in domestic service with the genteel families. Toward the capital of the Republic the Indians still remember that their grandparents used to live in Tacopaya and even beyond, in Tallaco, included in the same district. Then they extended toward the Bermejo River and, finally, eastward to within a few leagues of Carandaiti, where the arid zone, inhabited by the Toba and other savages, begins.

/6 cont./

131 Thus formerly the Chiriguano territory in the north was contiguous with the province of Sara, in the south and southwest with Argentina and the city of Tarija, in the west with Tacuburo country, and in the east with the colony of Carandaiti. According to its former boundaries, it then included an area of 200 leagues from north to south and southwest, and more than 90 leagues west to east.

131 16 [490] Today this extensive territory has been much reduced because of emigration, caused in part by the whites, under whose dominion most of them will not resign themselves to staying; the plagues which decimate the race have a powerful influence on its further reduction, and very soon /5/ barely the 131 name will remain. Today to the north it scarcely reaches Abapó, to the south, Itiyuru de Yacuiba, to the west, Itanaguazu, and to the east, Carandaiti, some hundred leagues from north to south and about 40 from west to east.

131 CUT [433] Formerly it embraced several degrees of latitude and three and a half of longitude; as they lost a considerable part of this area, so will they end up by losing it all, for despite their being born to the country which God had given them, as one of them was saying to me not long ago, they do not know how to farm it and improve their agriculture; they prefer to go far away and work for others rather than to own land at home. This very day only a few leagues remain in the hands of the Indians, Caipipendi in the province of Cordillera, Gutierrez Canton, and all the territory occupied by the missions, but both are likely to pass into foreign hands, because in fact the Indian is incapable of making the land that he does possess bear fruit; then the few survivors in the territory will be servants in their own house, as are so many others in lands that were once their own.

● 31 134 [432] The land is very unstable, at least that now occupied; it lacks stone and gravel, and since in their season the rains are torrential, they easily open cracks which in a few years become wide, deep ravines. Contributing a great deal to this are the cattle, which, because of their weight, stir up the land with their hoofs more than other livestock; for this reason

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311 134 in certain valleys that are narrow or not too wide there is scarcely room for fields, because so many little ravines have been formed. Such is the valley of Huacaya Canton; if there lived in it today the multitude of Indians which formerly were there, it would be hard to find, because of the woods and the ravines, sufficient land in the tiny level places for all the fields of maize, French beans, and gourds which they value much for food and gifts; only for other elements would a little valley be very desirable, were it not all owned.

Hills or Mountains

133 Chiriguano territory, because it is very extensive, as has already been seen, is quite varied: from Talisco to Monteagudo and from Tarija to the salt flats of O'Connor Province in the city of Entrerios it is very mountainous and few are the places which extend far enough to form a level place of a few leagues. Although there are /6/ no very high hills, between the two hills which limit the valleys there is an infinity of low hills of all sizes in height, width, and length.

The pampas begin imperceptibly from Monteagudo in the west and from Aguairenta, where the Gran Chaco begins; said pampas from Monteagudo little by little grow larger or again become small as the ridges permit, until they reach the last cordillera, which is found to the east of the Mission of San Buenaventura de Yvu, at a distance of one league, behind which begin the immense plains of the Gran Chaco, where the horizon becomes lost.

The principal mountains are: Padilla, called through antonomasia "The Hill," because its configuration is the same one that is called "Curi" toward San Juan del Pirai (1).

1. The hill is different from the Curi, because the former is more an enormous rock which ends in the ranges of Limon.

At this point the road across the hill is very rough and long, but if it is rather long toward Padilla, it is, by contrast, as

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133 [312] [234] At this point the river disappears completely from the month of June to December or January, forcing the farmers to make great excavations in its bed in order to be able to water their livestock: they have to go down to five meters in certain places. The course of the now dry river is easily seen, because in the season of great floods it leaves on the bank all the trash which it drags along and in its bed all the sand; the waters reappear to form the San Miguel River in the province of Velasco.

133 312 /10/ The benefit that agriculture and cattle raising draws from the Parapiti is indisputable: without it the existence of Parapiti and Isoso cantons would be almost impossible. All the wealth of both areas would disappear, there would be no livestock, sugar plantations, or rice fields as there are now on both banks, which lend themselves marvelously to the opening of canals and irrigating the sugar-cane fields which abound there. Nevertheless, the extraordinary floods of certain years do much damage, making plantations and their equipment disappear almost completely.

136 This river contains few fish: there are only bagre and shad and others of little value; the big dorados do not exist and there are only a few small ones in its tributary, the Pizay River, but strangely they do not enter the Parapiti; at the confluence they go back. Below the San Francisco Mission the fish disappear, because the water diminishes until it almost all disappears near Mariqui.

24 31 312 In Isoso maize is planted in the month of June in order to harvest the crop before the beginning of the big floods which inundate it all, and during the rainy season they are content to sow frijoles, gourds, melons, and watermelon far from the riverbed, but fruit is not always produced, since the region is rather arid. The waters of this river are quite sweet, and this must be one reason why agriculture is very vigorous on its banks, as any traveler can see.

/13 cont./

132 atmosphere immediately cools down and there begins a cold wind whose chill is increased as it passes through the region of hail, and since the maize stalks are still tender they are easily stricken. The hail that falls is big, the earth is churned up, and it kills birds, sheep, goats, and other animals, if they are unable to hide in the bushes or under thick trees, but this does not happen often nor every year.

[133] Earthquakes are most rare: I felt them twice during my stay in the region, in 1899 and 1909, but the wind is sometimes so strong that it seems to make the earth tremble; there is no doubt but that it tears up trees and strips them, ruins buildings, and dismantles tiled roofs. Foreigners in this

[145] so hot and changeable climate soon age and turn gray, but the natives who are used to it from childhood, despite the vices of drinking and others to which they surrender, enjoy a relatively long and healthy life.

It can readily be understood from what has been said that here the seasons of the year follow a different order from that which is seen in the Old World. Despite the fact, then, that there are no more than two seasons, we always can and ought to consider the four, in order to follow the general rule of the universe which divides the year into four parts. Summer begins December 21, fall March 21, winter June 21, and spring September 21, but all of these come ahead of time, as anyone who has lived here can testify.

Fertility

133 182 ●311 312 361 The Aguaragüe range, which is found to the east and one league from the Mission of San Buenaventura de Yvo, is the last one in Chiriguano territory. Small towns and families of these Indians are scattered here and there are still found east of the said range some 15 leagues away, but beyond that /14/ there are none because the area is arid and dry. "Igüi utini vae," as they say, and the Chiriguano accustomed to planting maize, beans, and gourds cannot live where there is a scarcity of rain for his crops and water for his daily bath.

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241 242 241

The closer the traveler gets to the Gran Chaco, the less water and the less fertility he finds; the very fields of Tve are patent proof, for crops are rarely abundant there. When the rains are torrential in other sections, they are sparse in Tve; the farther to the west one travels from Aguaragüe, the more fertile is the land, because the hills and hillocks are more frequent and higher, water more abundant, and consequently the land more moist, which is necessary for agricultural production.

The fields are suitable for raising cows and horses, for the multiplication of sheep and pigs; the year when it fails to rain, however, there is lack of feed for the livestock, as well as lack of water, the suffering is great, and numbers die near the waters which are found at some distance from the spots where there is food, such as the slopes of the hills and the tops of the hillocks, abounding in tree leaves.

139

The countryside is clothed with grasses in the summer, but the region begins to take beautiful in the spring and even earlier. The vigorous woods, dry and leafless during the cold months, begin to dress in verdant foliage at the beginning of the month of September, and in a few days nature is rejuvenated. Then it is very lovely to contemplate from some slight rise a broad pampa where there are earth nests, groves of catalpas or lapachos, the first green, the second red, and the third yellow and purple.

241 152 [132] 238

The territory is productive only in the rainy season, because the Chiriguano in general will not take the trouble to put in a good irrigation ditch when he can; he waits for it all from the high heavens. Miracles could have been worked on the basis of the rivers in times past; today it is difficult because they are very few and, like their grandparents, are satisfied with maize, a little sugar cane, and other delicacies, like sweet potatoes or batatas, manioca, and peanuts.

241 [221]

Large-scale planting begins at the end of November or the beginning of December, after the country has been watered by two or three abundant rains. The maize grows very high and, when there is no lack of water, produces two or three ears on each stalk. The frijoles produce three crops. The sugar cane

4) Mono--30 30-3 (1880-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/16 cont./

241 grows up to two meters and even more. the mandioca /15/ produces one arroba per plant. and the sweet potato even more because a single plant can sprout and extend eight or ten meters. being productive in every root put in the ground. just as it is suitably covered with earth there.

• 311 The fertility of the region which I describe cannot be doubted. but the inhabitants do not cultivate it. If in this area there were persons who liked to work, the land would produce money; for this is of no use to mestizo people either. since he who was a peon in Sucre or Tarija wants to be a gentleman here because he is not a Chiriguano, as a result of which the very banks of the rivers, those shores of the Parapiti and Río Grande which appear to be beckoning the farmer, remain almost uncultivated. Ticucha Canton is another area where a colony of foreigners would work miracles, planting vineyards and fruit trees and so many other products that could be developed there; the same could be said of so many other sites.

[295] It seems that the grape does not grow in certain places. but this is because it has not been tried. Not long ago the missionary padre of San Antonio del Parapiti planted some 200 vine cuttings. Who would believe it? Within six months some plants yielded quite ripe fruit. and the plants developed in an extraordinary fashion. In nearly all the missions there is cultivation of the vineyard and in Charagua it is on a large scale through the work of foreigners; therefore what is needed are thinking men and good farmers in order to make these beautiful lands productive. especially along the river banks. where sugar-cane plantations. banana plantations. coffee fields. vineyards. and so many other things that are productive here could be established.

433 241 From the foot of Padilla Hill the forest is very vigorous and continues so to the east until it ends at Aguaragüe. Fig trees yield with little cultivation. the nopal with none at all since it flourishes on hillocks and hills and. such an agreeable and refreshing fruit. is the principal occupant. Chirimoyas. oranges. lemons. and guavas also grow, as well as onions and

/To cont./

174 idleness and laziness and in indolence and are content with what nature provides for them to live on and subsist: this is the practice of the savages to the north of Santa Cruz, thus the Toba, Mataco, Chorote, and others who do not bother with planting and are content with only hunting, fishing, roots, and wild fruits, which, when they begin to turn yellow, are greeted by the Toba and Mataco with the "Ilimpin," a kind of small drum, so that they may mature faster and better.

174 241 311 But the Chiriguano, in spite of being indolent, a recent émigré, like his neighbors, is not so much so as the other tribes, since he joined the Carious. In addition to liking to fish and hunt, he does not fail to make his plantings of maize on a large scale, where he uses his energies in order to profit from his sweat later by converting it into "Atipũi," parched maize, "Atiruru," mote or boiled maize, "Aticũi," meal, "Muyape," bread, "Cangũi," or chicha, etc., dishes that the Toba and others know only in the house or larder of the Chiriguano. In order to obtain this class of foodstuffs, the banks of the Pilcomayo were not sufficient for a very large tribe; in addition, the other tribes which were hidden in the woods along that stretch must have devastated their fields, or their owners must have been in a continual state of uneasiness. Neither could they have obtained it on the pampas of the Gran Chaco, because the cooling action of the rains is scarce there, and, moreover, the soil in many places is like an immense sieve because of the holes made by the quiriquinchos /armadillos/, balled armadillos, and others of the species, which nest there and have built their subterranean towns (1).

1. The Toba began to plant maize and beans when they came under the control of the Franciscan fathers at the San Francisco dey Pilcomayo Mission, now Villamontes; today they plant very little.

/70 cont./

Consequently it was very natural that the race which was emigrating from Paraguay should seek out for its needs better lands which would permit it to make good use of its natural inclination to cultivate "Abati," maize, "Gllindoca," gourds, and "Cumanda," beans, because from the names that they give to all of these vegetables, it can be deduced that they did not get to know them after the discovery of America, but long before: and the same is true for the domestic animals, "Taimba," dog, "Uru," /71/ chicken, "Minta," cat. What is certain is that the Chiriguano race has been distinguished and is distinguished from the others which still remain in the savage state, and the Toba, as well as the Mataco and the Chorote, regard the Chiriguano as nobles and masters, and they serve them in exchange for maize and other things, and there has never been a natural marriage involving a Chiriguano man or woman with the tribes named (1).

1. The Toba are more intelligent and more easily reduced than the Matacos; the latter were also exposed to the missionaries of San Antonio del Pilcomayo, located on its right bank.

The Toba have generally assisted their masters in wars and have lived for long periods among them, especially in the time of good and abundant crops. They did this before the missionaries opened Cuevo and Ivo to trade with the founding of the Santa Rosa and San Buenaventura missions, and they still do in the Franciscan missions of Machareti, Tigllpa, and Tariari, because they are near these tribes.

The places that the Chiriguano selected for their residence after the migration were the mountainous one and the one visited by frequent rains, necessary so as not to lose the fruit of their labor, and in fact we do not see this race settled in places away from the mountain range, nor in impenetrable forest, good only for those tribes in a state of

/238 cont./

423 311 To acquire possession of a small plot of land, the Chiriguano selects beforehand the part that he likes best in the region, which he judges to be wet enough because it is on the slopes of ridges or hills or because water collects there in the rainy season. Naturally, the site which he intends to cultivate must have no signs of previous cultivation, because if there were any the owner or his descendants, even though at some distance, would immediately place a claim before the competent authority, the cacique.

423 [241] If the plot has not been tilled, he can be sure of not being disturbed, and before the rainy season ends he plants on it anything /239/ which will be visible, such as the Gillndacaguasu, a large gourd which spreads a great deal, invades everything, and is not easily strangled by weeds. Another way to acquire property is to break all the bushes around the site, or, finally, to make cuts with his ax on the largest trees.

No one can lay claim to a place that belongs to the community of the Indians, where anyone has worked, and the one 241 who made the prior signs is regarded as the owner. The rainy season passes, the cold comes and dries up the grass and the leaves of the trees; before August ends, the Indian sets fire to the whole new plot, which consumes the grass and the brambles and makes useless the larger trees. All the ashes [461] that are left are fertilizer for the land, and the fire has destroyed all the seeds of the weeds and brush, so that the first planting which is done on the new plot is almost free of weeds, which saves labor for the lazy Chiriguano (1).

1. The old Indians still do some work in order not to have many weeds in their fields, but the modern ones are little concerned about it now in many areas. Moreover, the cattle do not leave any time, invading everything and eating up the pasturage in a short time. It is very sensible to prohibit the burning of the fields after the harvest.